

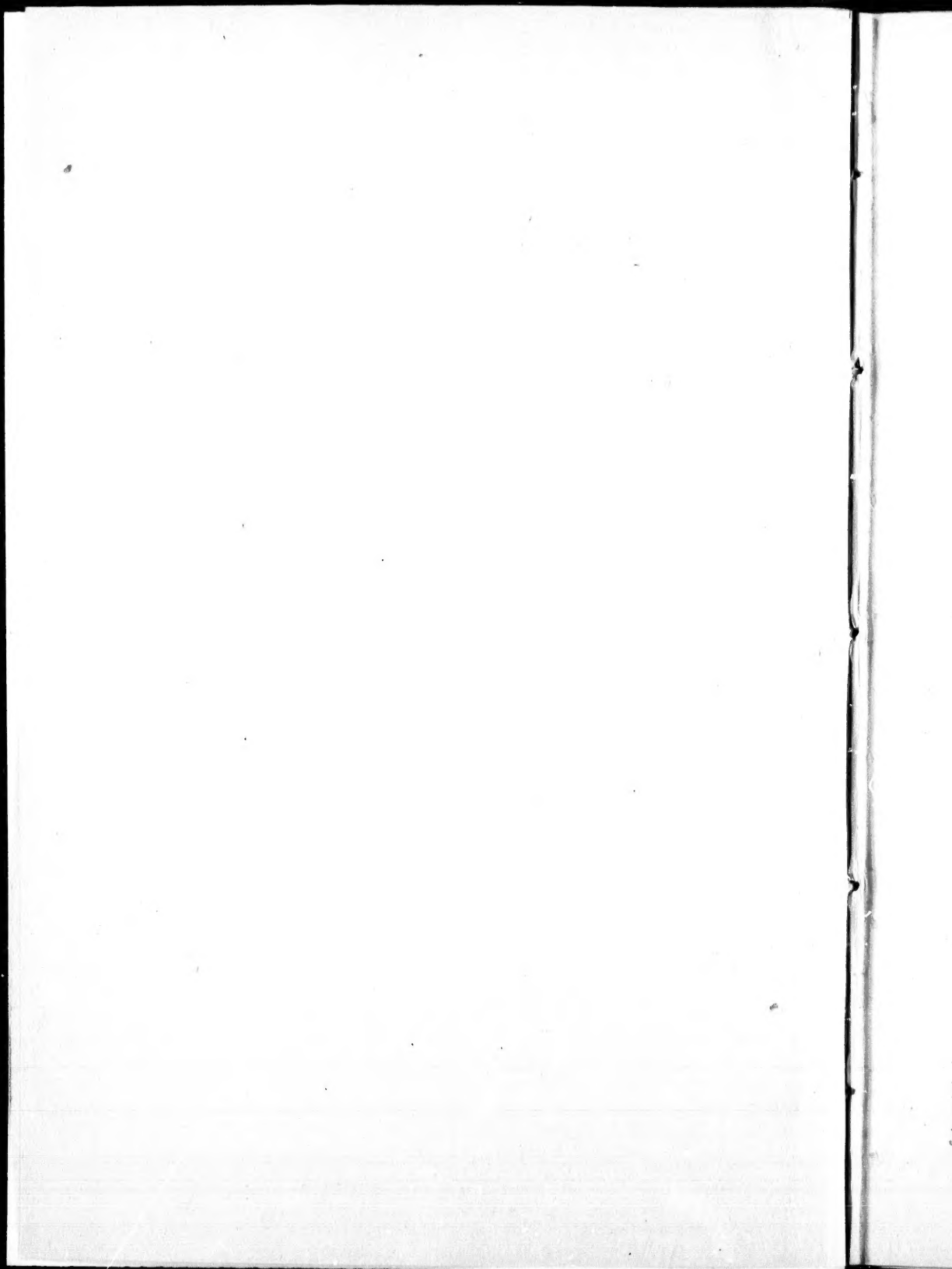
THE
ULTRAMONTANE POLICY

IN
QUEBEC
AND ITS RESULTS.



BY

"A CATHOLIC."



No. 1

Ultramontane Policy in Quebec

—AND—

ITS RESULTS.

1889.

Extracts from the Ultramontane Pamphlet "La Source du Mal."

Page 1.—"Canada was first a French Colony and remained so till 1759, for a period of nearly 450 years. During this time, when the dangerous errors, called Gallican, predominated in France, the country imbibed, necessarily, all these errors. This is proved by numerous facts which would be too long to enumerate.

"These facts are inscribed on every page of our history, political and religious, and again, we may say, on every page of our Civil Code.

"Our laws have up to this day maintained a strong impression of Gallicanism and also our theological teaching. So, for example, Canadian jurists have believed and still believe, from early teaching, that civil authority can establish or remove obstacles to marriage. Canadian jurists believed, and still believe, with a large number of their followers, that the public authority can and ought to interfere, in the administration of ecclesiastical property, can tax it, fix and determine the limit within which corporations and religious bodies can acquire and possess property; can abolish tithes in whole or in part. Canadian jurists believed, and still believe, that Church wardens and vestry men derive their power, and are subject to civil authority, and that parishes erected canonically are as non-existing, so long as the civil authority have not sanctioned their existence. Canadian jurists have believed, and still believe, that the Courts can condemn

a priest, who refuses the sacrament to a person unworthy, as guilty of defamation or as exercising an unjust pressure; to force him to give ecclesiastical burial to him whom the Church deprives of this honor, and even to declare, after assuming the right to examine his words and his speeches, in a judicial enquiry, if in the pulpit of truth he has confined himself to his sacred ministry."

Page 2.—"A man who died within the last forty years, and considered one of the lights of the Seminary of Quebec, whose president he was for many years, and who taught theology and philosophy, and held as an oracle even among the bishops, Mr. Vicar-General Demers, did not hesitate to affirm to his pupils, amongst other Gallican propositions, that the Pope was not infallible, and that Councils were above the Pope."

According to the writer's views, our whole legal and ecclesiastical system was, previous to the English rule in Canada, and still is, in its essential and fundamental parts, infested with heretical principles. Every provision of the law, which, for four hundred years, had been admitted and acknowledged as the undoubted law of Catholic France as regards the respective position of Church and State, of laymen and ecclesiastics, and the rights of the civil community to appeal to the Courts of Law in the interpretation of the Canon law, in reference to property, church temporalities, the liberty of the individual and the abuse of clerical authority, in matters purely temporal; all this was suddenly pronounced to be contrary to the rules of the church, and the twenty generations of French Catholics, who asserted, defended and never doubted their truth, are declared to have lived and died excommunicated, out of the pale of the church and beyond hope of salvation.

The same sentence was pronounced against the venerable Mr. Demers, and all the Canadian Bishops, who admitted his doctrine, that the Pope was not infallible and that the Councils were above the Pope. Our Civil Code must be recast and founded upon this new theory, which must necessarily embody these new regulations.

The plain meaning of this is that the clerical authority is and must be supreme; that any interference by the Courts, and every principle incorporated in our laws, maintaining such interference

in ecclesiastical or quasi ecclesiastical property, is heretical and must disappear, notwithstanding such may have been the law of France for over four centuries, and the law of Canada for over two hundred years. The taxing of ecclesiastical property, the limitation of the possession of real estate by ecclesiastical corporations, principles accepted by all civilized Catholic communities, is held as monstrous, also the consent of the State for the territorial division of the country, and any judge attempting to enforce such laws is *de facto* excommunicated, as such principles are Gallican or liberal heresies.

II.—CANADA AFTER THE CONQUEST.

Page 4.—“After the cession of Canada to Great Britain the situation did not improve, although the free exercise of the Catholic religion was guaranteed by the treaty.”

Page 5.—“The clerical authority, too much disposed, by the profession of these Gallican errors, to yield to the civil authority, had not the opportunity, amidst its increasing difficulties, to dispel these errors.

“The Canadians opposed an invincible resistance to the pretensions of England when they became intolerable.”

The writer after stating that by providential events the Province of Lower Canada remained exclusively Catholic and French says that their superior numbers entitle them to act independently, as they are not obliged to take in account the Protestant element, as in the other Provinces or in the United States, where this element predominates; and, therefore, it is absurd to pretend that Catholics should fear the Protestants.

Page 6.—“We have here truly perfect liberty to profess the Catholic religion in the Province of Quebec, and we can organize ourselves in as absolute a manner, in every respect,

AS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

“The Protestants, notwithstanding what has been said or attempted lately to arouse them, offer no obstacle. Those who oppose this are liberals of our race, liberals whose leaders are openly impious, and who, for the most part, disguise and conceal themselves, and who even dare proclaim themselves sincere Catholics to alleviate the fears which they provoke and to attain more surely their work of destruction.”

III.—REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN CANADA AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

Page 7.—“The Legislative Union of Lower and Upper Canada was consummated in 1840, and the Catholics of Lower Canada obtained again the guarantee that their religious rights would be protected and maintained. We were obliged notwithstanding to struggle seriously against Protestantism in the public administration and in the enacting of laws. The struggle was the most serious, because our unbelievers and liberals made common cause with the Protestants; without this, notwithstanding the legislative union, we could have controlled the Protestants.”

IV.—PROGRESS OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS.—MODE OF ACTION OF OUR IMPIOUS LIBERALS.

Page 8.—“All those who are at the head of the Liberal party in the Province of Quebec work with a persistent energy for the destruction of Catholicism.

“They want the separation of Church and State, and even assert the supremacy of the State; they sow everywhere distrust of the clergy, whom they represent as greedy for wealth and power; they maintain that law, when expressed by the will of the majority, is just and binding, even when in direct contradiction with ecclesiastical law; they deny to the Church and to the Pope the right to interfere in political questions; they claim the liberty of conscience, liberty of the press, and the liberty of doing everything in political matters; they work with all their might, whilst apparently acting in concert with the bishops, when appointed members of the Board of Education by persons disposed to secularise education; and they have already obtained grand success in that direction.

“To strengthen themselves and to obtain recruits, our impious Liberals succeeded in 1858 in being the great majority of the members of a celebrated literary institution formed several years previous, under the name of the *L'Institut Canadien*. When masters of this association they crowded its library with pernicious books.

“Mgr. Bourget, who so well deserved at the hands of the Church during his long episcopate, and who has now retired in the calm of meditation and prayer, acted with just severity towards the members of the *Institut*. They complained to the Holy Office, protesting their orthodoxy and their entire submission to the Church. The Holy Office was almost taken in by their lying protestations and was preparing a *monitum* to the Bishop, when the venerable prelate, warned in time, trans-

mitted documents of their own records, which could leave no room to doubt their guilt.

Page 2. —“Our impious Liberals, which were also called Rouges, and who latterly assumed the name of Reformers, to remove the odium which they had brought on themselves, have repeatedly endeavored to secure the Government. Their object is to secure the triumph of ideas, and to substantiate those ideas in fact and legislation. They were kept at bay by the Conservatives. The latter are generally well disposed, but they are nevertheless still tainted with Gallicanism and false notions by reason of their defective education.”

No clearer exposition of the result which this Ultramontane party seeks to obtain, and of their doctrine as to constitutional liberty, could be found anywhere. The obedience to the law, if contrary to their notions, is an heresy which courts and judges are bound to disregard; the rights of the clergy to interfere without check or control in all political matters, the liberty of the press, the liberty of conscience, the control and direction of education by laymen, were so many damnable heresies, which they were in a fair way of extirpating, if they had not been timely arrested by Archbishop Taschereau.

Here we find the novel information that the Institut Canadien had almost obtained the right of existence with the sanction of the Roman authorities, when Bishop Bourget transmitted to them documents compiled by himself without notice to the Institut, which reversed the decision which had already censured his action.

V.—NEW CONSTITUTION—CONFEDERATION OF THE PROVINCES
WITH A VIEW OF FAVORING THE CATHOLICS OF LOWER
CANADA.

Page 11.—“In our Parliamentary debates and struggles, Lower Canada would always have paralyzed the efforts of Protestant fanaticism and Upper Canada Orangeism, if all our French-Canadian representatives had been united to defend our true interests. But our Liberals, the Rouges, numerous enough in Parliament, have constantly sided with our bitterest enemies, as we have already stated. Matters had arrived at such a point that there was no possibility for Upper and Lower Canada to work together under a Legislative Union. It was then resolved

to remedy the situation by forming a Confederation of all the British Provinces."

Page 12.—"Our Catholic Conservatives insisted particularly on the formation of Provincial Parliaments, with the object of securing to the Province of Quebec, where the Catholics were far more numerous than the Protestants, the right to govern themselves *by truly Catholic laws*. If it had not been for this object, there would have been no Provincial Legislatures, as all the British Provinces, except Quebec, being Protestant in majority, one Parliament would have been sufficient for all."

Page 12.—"Our *Rouges*, who well understood that this new system would overthrow their plans of impiety, made a most determined opposition to its success, whilst most of the Protestants, moved by a national feeling of equity, favored it.

"The Province of Quebec, which our *Rouges* were anxious to govern by non-Catholic, even unchristian, laws, would now have a local parliament, composed almost exclusively of Catholics, and thereby was saved from their baneful influence. There was really room for despair."

According to this Ultra Monte Conservative writer, had it not been for the so-called French Canadian *Rouges*, Lower Canada, before and without Confederation, could have controlled everything—and his ideas would have prevailed. It is difficult to understand how this party was thwarted, and more difficult still to perceive where the efforts of Protestant fanaticism manifested themselves, except when it came to an open declaration, claiming complete submission to this thorough revolution in our laws and constitution. Is it not on the contrary, owing to the close alliance and support of Protestants and Orangeism, that this so-called ultramontane party has achieved the great triumphs which the writer admits they have secured for the past thirty years, and is it not owing to this close alliance that judges of our courts have been appointed who professed publicly the doctrine that the laws of the land could not and would not be applied whenever they were found to be tainted with Gallicanism or contrary to the new doctrines, thereby transferring the absolute legislative authority of repealing laws to the clerical power alone.

VI.—DECEPTION PRACTISED BY THE LIBERALS TO OBTAIN POWER

"The Liberals did not abandon their aim, but formed the plan to arrive at their object with the assistance of the Protestants, and then to sway the Provincial Parliament at Quebec, to pre-dominate in the Provincial Parliament was a supreme interest for them, as Catholicism which they sought to destroy had its stronghold in Quebec."

Page 13.—"They repudiated the name of *rouge* and assumed that of Liberals, and subsequently called themselves reformers."

Page 15.—"The clergy, notwithstanding all the calumnies accumulated against it to destroy its authority so disastrous to the liberals, exercised a paramount influence on the people. Seeing then that the Liberals were manœuvring to secure power in Quebec to destroy, when this was once secured, the authority of the Church and Catholicism in its stronghold, the clergy then came to the determination of enlightening the faithful, and put them on their guard, against those who claimed their suffrages in the name of these ideas."

"To annihilate the efforts of this terrible enemy, the Liberals worked with incredible energy and perseverance to bring Archbishop Taschereau to separate from his suffragans the other bishops. They succeeded, through certain Liberal priests of the Archbishopric and Seminary of Quebec, who were their friends, and who represented to the Archbishop that a series of evils would fall on him if he did not yield to them."

"Besides, the weakness of Mgr. Taschereau was known. He was anxious to save his popularity and be agreeable to his family, filled with Liberal ideas. The Liberals succeeded, under one pretence or another, for example, on the ground of peace, on the ground of the respect due to the sacerdotal character, which, according to them, forbids the priest to talk politics, to paralyse the influence and the action of the clergy, to gag the priest in the pulpit, and thus to obtain free scope. Mgr. Taschereau served them admirably by his circulars."

VII.—OUR CATHOLIC LIBERALS—WHAT THEY SAY AND WHAT THEY DO, NOT TO BE CONSIDERED AS CONDEMNED BY THE HOLY SEE.

Page 17.—"We have just seen who are our impious Liberals, whom the clergy have strongly fought on account of the perversity of their aims and the pest of their doctrines."

Page 18.—"As to the Catholic liberals, they are all those who

by reason of various interests, support or favor the first, in any manner whatsoever, more particularly by that tame-spiritedness which prompts to remain silent as was so often repeated by Pius IX., of illustrious and holy memory, and they are very numerous amongst us.

"As our Liberals of all shades are true Liberals, Liberals formed on the mode of those found in France and Belgium, it is natural that we should pronounce that voting for them to send them to Parliament, to take part in the administration of public affairs is of itself a serious fault, inasmuch as Pius IX. has declared that they cause more harm to society than to communists!"

Page 19.—"To blind us to their real intentions our Catholic Liberals have recourse to a thousand artifices. They attempt, for example, to assume that they are as the Liberals of England, of the United States, or of Ontario, where the Protestants rule and demand equal liberty for all in religious matters, and also ask that all should equally participate in material progress. Such Liberals are not those whom the Church condemns: they merely claim a liberty which is denied to the good, when granted to the wicked. Whilst impossible at the moment to secure the absolute control of Catholic authority, which is paramount to all other rights, they labor to obtain for Catholicism at least the same advantages which are allowed to false religions.

"There is an abyss between these men and our Liberals. The latter not only acknowledge that we must indulge in the practical toleration required by circumstances, but when they assert that Protestants have equal rights with Catholics they still go further. As the exercise of liberty appears to them legitimate, they are prepared to sacrifice the rights of the Church, and even its principles to free thought.

"The Catholic Liberals further say that they are unjustly judged as to their political alliance with Ontario representatives. They add that the Conservatives are on a par with the Conservatives. It is false!"

Page 20.—"What we exact is that our representatives should ally themselves with those of Ontario, who are most favorable to all our true interests and, particularly, to our religious interests; and this is what the Conservatives have proved themselves to be. The Liberals have proved themselves to be quite the opposite.

"If the Catholic clergy watches over politics so closely, it is because it sees in them principles of a superior order to protect or suppress."

Page 21.—“We hear the doctrine of liberty of conscience and of the absolute authority of the state proclaimed. They go so far as to maintain that if, in a political election, an elector is swayed by a sermon to vote one way rather than the other, his vote is no longer free, and that this constitutes undue influence. On this ground all God's commandments and those of the Church must be effaced.

“It is by virtue of such a principle that we have seen three political elections, Gaspé, Charlevoix and Berthier, annulled.”

Page 22.—“This doctrine has been applied by three judges, two of whom were Catholics. These judges held that they were bound to decide according to the laws of the land, and, as such, acknowledge no other law. Mgr. Taschereau, in whose diocese *these horrors were enunciated*, allowed them to pass unheeded when he could have prevented all this.”

Page 24.—“In conclusion let us say that truly Liberalism produces in Canada the dreadful results indicated by Pius IX.; it tears up the bonds of Catholic unity by authorizing the faithful to sit in judgment on their pastors, and to accept of their teachings only what suits them...and this phenomenon has revealed itself particularly since Mgr. Taschereau was appointed Archbishop of Quebec.

“In one word the free judgment of Protestantism has penetrated among us by the door which the so-called political Liberalism has opened to it.”

To carry out effectively this system the Supreme Court must be abolished, or at least the Appeal to this Court from any decision in the Province of Quebec, also the appeal to the Privy Council, and this has been repeatedly announced and officially reported by the Government of the Province of Quebec. (See report of Judge Loranger.)

Finding that it was impossible to obtain their object with the Legislative Union of Canada, by the reason of opposition offered on the part of the French Canadian Liberals, the writer informs the public that the scheme of confederation was devised with Provincial Parliament, for the sole “object of securing to the Province of Quebec, where the Catholics were more numerous than Protestants, the right to govern themselves *by truly Catholic laws.*”

What are truly Catholic laws the author has fully explained

and he expresses his gratitude to the Protestants who assisted this party in obtaining this great success which saved the Province from the baneful influence of the Liberals, and destroyed them forever, if an unfortunate division in the clergy had not brought them life.

The writer gives an historical account of the authorisation obtained by the Seminary of Quebec to establish the Laval University, pp. 26, 27 and 28, which he asserts to have been secured by fraud, the idea of establishing a Catholic university having originated with Bishop Bourget, who was anxious "to dissipate the darkness of ignorance which covered the Province and to save the youth from the abyss of corruption wherein they rushed with furor."

Page 25.—"The Seminary of Quebec was Gallican, Classical studies consisted in giving to the students unexpurgated Pagan works, they were allowed to study history ancient and modern, in books written from a bad point of view; and philosophy was taught according to a rationalist system slightly modified."

Page 28.—"What proves how little they (the founders of Laval) were imbued with the idea eminently Catholic, which they undertook, is that immediately, spontaneously, without having been in any manner induced, they invited some Protestant Freemasons of Quebec to take Professors' chairs in their university."

Page 29.—"Pothier, notwithstanding his many serious errors, was the oracle of civil law.

"Besides Pothier, the students of the faculty of law were advised to read, without distinction, Demolomb, Troplong, Perriere and Desmarais.

"Great admirers of Mgr. Dupanloup, the Count de Talloux, and Montalembert, of the correspondent of Paris, they held in horror the writings of Louis Venillot, Dom Gueranger, Mgr. Saume, and others of the Catholic school of France."

VIII.—MGR. BOURGET WANTS A UNIVERSITY IN MONTREAL— THE QUEBEC SEMINARY OPPOSES IT.

Page 38.—"Mgr. Bourget, as we have already seen, was deceived in his expectations respecting the Laval University. It was not the Catholic University such as he conceived it."

Page 39.—"For these reasons, and others, Mgr. Bourget asked from Rome leave to establish another university in Montreal,

his city. The Seminary of Quebec raised a world of difficulties."

Page 41.—"There are in the University (of Laval) professors who inspire no confidence, because some of them are Protestants and Freemasons, others Liberals, who expressed more than once, and on solemn occasions, principles, not only dangerous, but impious.

"And Mr. Taschereau, Superior of the Seminary of Quebec and Rector of the Laval University, has applauded their iniquities, and even sanctioned them. His sentiments and his manner of acting have not changed since his appointment as Archbishop."

No better exposé could be given of the plan and intentions of this party, created, inspired, and directed by the Jesuits. They brought the entire clergy into league to destroy all liberal and constitutional notions in the country. They selected and made the representatives, they absolutely controlled the electors. They imposed their own legislation and the appointment of most of the judges. They claimed and obtained immunity and independence of legal control, they secured their absolute authority over all the primary schools, and were struggling with untiring energy and perseverance to impose, complete and perpetuate their domination by the monopoly of superior education through the establishment of a University, which would soon, by legislative enactments or ecclesiastical intimidation, have imparted alone the education to the better classes of Catholics, and made them impervious to any idea of progress. It is evident from this pamphlet that the object of the opposition to Laval was the establishment of a rival university, composed of and constituted by Jesuits, which would have the monopoly of university education in the districts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and any other districts where these ideas predominate, or where they could be made to prevail.

Pages 61-66.—"The author regrets the division which occurred between the members of the Episcopate in 1865, until which time perfect unanimity existed among them for the furtherance of their objects, and censures Archbishop Taschereau and several members of the Quebec clergy, whom he accuses of Gallicanism and liberal tendencies, which have prevented their

success and imperilled the interests that true Catholics had so well secured, and which they were developing so rapidly."

Page 74.—"To cap the climax, Archbishop Taschereau issued a mandate on the occasion of the bull which constituted canonically the Laval University, in which he stamped as idle the discussions between Catholics and Liberals. It was evidently sanctioning what the latter had urged in the interpretation of this bull. Hence a new scandal by which the Liberals greatly benefitted.

"The success obtained by Mr. Langelier, in Charlevoix, on the ground of undue influence, induced another Liberal professor, of the University, Mr. Flynn, to employ the same means in the contestation of the election of Bonaventure.

"Judge Casault, another professor of Laval, gave judgment in this contestation, and enumerated principles directly opposed to the Catholic doctrine. He denied, for example, to the priest the right to pronounce in the pulpit that such and such acts were grievous offences before God. He proclaimed that Parliaments were omnipotent; that liberty of worship was absolutely obligatory, and he acknowledged the right of the Courts of law to repress abuses in preaching.

"Mgr. de Rimouski, in whose diocese Judge Casault expressed such subversive doctrines, thought it his duty to raise his voice to condemn them and to affirm the rights of the Church and of truth."

Page 75.—"The Liberals of Quebec wreaked their vengeance by ridiculing the courageous prelate, and went so far as to insult him.

"Mgr. Taschereau, to crown their work and to assist them, published a note in the newspapers signed by himself as Archbishop, in which he stated that Rome had not ordered the expulsion of Judge Casault from the University, and had not stigmatized the judgment pronounced upon reasons which he had given in the contestation of the election of Bonaventure."

Page 76.—"About the same time these things happened, those who had contested the election of Charlevoix, and who saw their pretensions set aside as unfounded in justice and in reason, by Judge Routhier, appealed from his judgment to the highest tribunal, the Supreme Court, which reversed the decision of Judge Routhier.

"Mr. Jean Thomas Taschereau, brother of the Archbishop of Quebec, was one of the judges, and he expressed the opinion of the Court on the occasion, and enunciated the most false and im-

pious propositions. He asserted that instructions given by the priest in the pulpit could really give cause to undue influence.

"He denied therefore to the priest the right to assert that it could be a serious crime to accept another politico religious opinion, and he declares that clergymen who dare attempt it are amenable to the civil courts. He went so far as to say that the law of the land was the only rule for the courts in public matters."

IX.—MGR. CONROY, APOSTOLICAL DELEGATE.

Page 77.—"The situation was in this painful condition when it was announced, in the winter of 1877, that Mgr. Conroy, Bishop of Armagh, was coming to Canada, with powers of a delegate from the Holy See.

"Mgr. Conroy seems to have made every effort to destroy all what Pius IX. had stated in his allocutions and decrees on the subject of Liberalism, and particularly Catholic Liberalism."

Page 82.—"Mgr. Conroy pretended, and this on many occasions, that one could vote for a Catholic Liberal, acknowledged as such, and even for a downright infidel, whose name he himself mentioned. This person, however, Mr. Rodolph Laflamme, was anxious to become a representative for the sole object of securing the triumph of evil doctrines. Nevertheless, Bishop Conroy absolutely declared that it was allowable to vote for him."

Page 85.—"Mgr. Conroy added that Mr. Mackenzie, Prime Minister in the Federal Government of 1877, supported by our Liberals, was equal to Sir John Macdonald, supported by the Ultramontanians."

Page 86.—"Admitting, as Mgr. Conroy says, Messrs. Mackenzie and Macdonald were as good personally as politicians, there was a great difference, and here is the proof:

"Whenever Sir John was the head of the Government, he called us Ministers to support him from the Province of Quebec the most sincere and devoted Catholics, and whenever it was in his power he yielded to the Catholics in every question where they had an interest."

Page 93.—"Mgr. Conroy did everything in his power to confirm the Liberals in their error with Pius IX. so often stigmatized."

Page 97.—"Unfortunate Mgr. Conroy! He obtained exactly the contrary of what he was seeking. Some time after the pastoral letter of the 11th of October, he received letters informing

him of what injuries he had done us; how he was lowered in the estimation of the clergy, and of all good citizens. He received a heap of letters of this kind, and then he found himself isolated. Apart from a few Liberals, everyone shunned him, because everyone had lost confidence in him."

Page 98.—"Truly, the visit of Mgr. Conroy to Canada has been a great misfortune for us. His mission has made us retrograde immensely in the path of true progress. In a word, he has prepared horrible disasters, which will befall us in a short time if Providence does not come to our rescue.

"This is what Bishops think and say, and with them most of the priests, and all good citizens."

X.—QUESTION OF THE RESTORATION OF THE JESUITS' PROPERTY.

Page 104.—"We have stated in the previous chapter that the sums allowed by the Government every year to the various educational establishments of the Province are derived from the property of the Jesuits, which it unjustly detains."

Page 105.—"The Catholics, who were neither Gallicans nor Liberals, always maintained a hope that this property would be restored to their legitimate owners, against whom the Government for many reasons could not prescribe.

"Circumstances seemed favorable for reparation to all the injury caused to this illustrious Society when our political constitution was altered in 1867, when, as we have already stated, the Province of Quebec had obtained the right to govern itself. It had self control over the Jesuits' estate, and as our representatives were mostly all Catholics, no reason seemed to exist for refusing restitution.

"In consequence the Jesuits a few years ago laid claim to this property, and the then Prime Minister of Quebec, a Catholic, Mr. Ouimet, now Minister of Education, wrote on the subject to Cardinal Antonelli that there would be a revolution in Canada if the Holy See insisted on the restitution, and that the Government wished to treat of this matter with the Archbishop alone."

Page 106.—"The minister who replaced Mr. Ouimet was the Honorable Mr. de Boucherville. He took up this question of the property of the Jesuits, and he was determined to settle it as justice and religion prescribed; the more so as the R.R. fathers were satisfied to accept \$400,000 in lieu of all restitution. Notwithstanding his good intentions Mr. de Boucherville was hindered in the accomplishment of his designs."

Page 107.—"The gentlemen of the Seminary of Quebec, who

wish to be the only great luminaries of heaven in Canada, fear nothing so much as the influence of the Jesuits, and consider as a public calamity their appearance at Quebec as teachers of youth.

"To remove every hope from the Jesuits to re-open their college at Quebec, the question was hurriedly mooted of demolishing their old college, then vacant, under pretence that this solid edifice, more solidly constructed than the present Seminary of Quebec, threatened to fall.

"A number of Catholics protested, in the newspapers and elsewhere, against this act of vandalism, which consummated an odious and sacrilegious usurpation. Mr. de Boucherville, to calm the scruples of his conscience, consulted then, as it was stated at the time, the highest ecclesiastical authority of the Province, *i.e.*, Mgr. Taschereau, and the answer of the prelate was that demolition must be effected."

So it is evident that the influence of the ultramontane clergy, for many years back, was exercised in our political world, and Confederation was created with the object of securing to the Jesuits the restoration of their property, in lieu of which they obtained \$400,000 from our bankrupt Province.

CONCLUSION.

Page 115.—"The conclusion of all that precedes is that the Holy See must interfere in the settlement of our affairs, and, considering the errors which prevail here, condemn such errors."

"Unfortunately, this we could not obtain until now."

"Let all the liberal errors pointed out by Pius IX be condemned for Canada."

"Let the principles of Christian reform in education be affirmed."

"Let religious authority be affirmed, and openly, more particularly with respect to the visitation of schools, and the right to use in schools only such books as the religious authority may approve."

"Let the civil authority be declared inferior and subject to the ecclesiastical, and let the property formerly belonging to the Jesuits be restored to them, the legitimate owners."

"And, lastly, let Montreal have its University, so that it can organize it on a Catholic basis."

The foregoing comments were written on the publication of the pamphlet reviewed. The confession and disclosures made were so startling, and proved so conclusively the action of the ultramontane party, directed by the Jesuits in Canada, that the hierarchy in the District of Montreal became alarmed, and immediately ordered its suppression. According to the above pamphlet it is evident that its authority and ideas were entirely derived from Jesuitical sources. Its object was to secure to the Jesuits the restoration of their property or a proper indemnity, owing to the great services which have been rendered by them in securing the triumph of ultramontane ideas. According to these views everything done in Canada by the church, down to the promulgation of this new light in the relations of church and state, was absolutely heretical; and the Jesuits and their followers were the only true exponents of Roman Catholic ideas.

If we consider the principles enunciated in this pamphlet as expressing their doctrine, no liberty or independence of any kind can be maintained.

And it is somewhat consoling to true Liberals of the Province of Quebec to find a confession so clearly expressed, that it is owing entirely to the action, sanction and assistance of the Protestant Conservatives of Canada, that the Jesuits have succeeded in asserting and securing the predominance of their ideas.

Any person conversant with the history of our country for the last fifty years will admit that it is since the introduction of the Jesuits into Canada, and their incorporation under the fictitious name of the College of St. Mary in 1854, that these ideas have originated and been developed into actual results.

At that period the Parliament of Canada, even the French Catholic representatives, would not have given their sanction to the introduction of the Jesuit order as such. The ideas then prevailing among the intelligent class of the population were entirely against them. The popular traditions were unfavorable to them, and so they introduced themselves under a disguised name to avoid any discussion.

The prevailing objection to their institution amongst the enlightened and liberally educated, was that of civilized Europe, that they were dangerous, constantly intriguing in secret in every class of society, to obtain the control of the community, and secure political power, with the constant aim of establishing despotism, which they would direct, and that they were waging an incessant and relentless war against all liberal ideas.

Immediately after their admission, the individual members of this new corporation displayed great energy in historical and literary works.

They established at first a modest school, secured grants, and donations, under one pretence or another, exercised all the influence they could bring to bear in order to obtain a foothold, and a college, where their reputation as teachers, would attract a good proportion of the patronage of the richer members of society.

They introduced eloquent preachers of their order, and soon obtained a congregation of admirers from the wealthier class of the community.

Finding that the educated young men were mostly republican and liberal, and anxious for free discussion and inquiry, they organized a debating society under the name of *L'Institut Canadien*. The members of the order devoted special attention to this young association gave their services as lecturers, and were most assiduous in their diffusion of historical and scientific notions.

They induced two members of the Sulpician order to assist them in their work, who subsequently proved devoted friends of the Jesuit order—the Rev. Messrs. DeCharbonnel, and Pinsonneault, who, notwithstanding their obligations to their own order, waged an incessant warfare against the Sulpicians for refusing to assist the Jesuits by contributions of money and otherwise. They succeeded in driving out the Superior of the Sulpicians at Montreal, Mr. Quiblier, who was interdicted by Bishop Bourget, or at least suspended, and who died broken-hearted in England. Mr. DeCharbonnel offered his services in conjunction with the Jesuits to the *Institut Canadien*. Any contemporary will remember that he delivered a lecture on George Washington, in the church of St. James on St. Denis street, which was crowded on the occasion, when he said he believed Washington to be a saint, and that he would have no hesitation to offer mass for the repose of his soul. This lecture was followed by several others, delivered by Rev. P. Martin, of the College of St. Marie, on various interesting subjects.

During these proceedings several attempts were made by Revs. DeCharbonnel and Pinsonneault to induce the members of the *Institut Canadien* to accept one of these reverend gentlemen as director of their society, which, however, the young men positively declined to do. Then arose the opposition to the *Institut Canadien*, and its persecution inspired by the Jesuits, actively supported by Mr. Pinsonneault, which ended in its destruction.

During this period the Jesuit order had increased considerably in influence and wealth. They built up their college and church, and all kinds of attractions, theatricals, concerts, &c., were used to induce the imaginative and sensational part of the community to join. They obtained absolute control of the female portion of the aristocratic Roman Catholics, and they had from their installation, complete control of Bishop Bourget, to whom they owed their existence.

At this same period began the war of the bishop against the so-called Gallican ideas. The dress of the clergy was changed, the use of the Roman Mantle, and Hat, and the bands were proscribed. In the churches, the old time ornaments on the church wardens seats, the crucifix and candelabras, were ordered to be removed and described by the Bishop as mummeries. The old French ritual was suppressed, as well as all the ancient Gallican ceremonies. Everything which could recall the memory of the Gallican Church was obliterated and had to give way to Roman and ultramontane rules and forms.

This revolution in the outward forms was accompanied by a ferocious war against the exercise of any independent control of the temporalities of the Church by the laymen. The fabrique was a national institution, a quasi municipal body electing its own officers. No expenditure could be ordered without their sanction, and any expenditure over one hundred francs (sixty dollars) had to be submitted to the approval of all the parish ioners.

Any violation of these laws could be visited by a penalty.

These laws, our courts, as well as French tribunals, for centuries never doubted. Their authority on these subjects was never questioned.

All these old laws, institutions and customs were found to offer serious obstructions to the exercise of absolute and arbitrary authority, and were the subject of incessant attack on the ground of heresy and anti-religious principles, &c., &c.

The history of our jurisprudence affords the best evidence of the success of the ultramontane party directed and inspired by the Jesuits. The legislature was constrained to yield to their directions, and our statute book shows their servility. Hardly any of the old institutions remain, and our courts have become the registrars of their death sentences.

The principle now consecrated is that the Bishop has absolute power to dispose of the funds of any church. The election of

the church wardens has become a farce, and by several statutes has been completely abolished in many localities.

On the arrival of the Jesuits, several colleges were placed under their control, and they prepared their schemes and programme for the education of the youth of the Province.

Absolute power was the only true principle of government. Democratic or constitutional ideas were rank heresies, the absolute supremacy of the church, the complete immunities of the clergy, their absolute independence from civil authority were insisted upon as articles of faith, and every contrary proposition entailed excommunication. This was the only salvation for society. All ideas of progress and liberty, popular suffrage, liberty of the Press, freedom of discussion, were things to be extirpated and abhorred. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, the inquisition, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were justified as ministering to the true ends of religion and civilization. The most extravagant ideas of French Ultramontanes were claimed as the only true Catholic principles.

These new doctrines, exhumed from the middle ages, had found able exponents in France at the beginning of this century, when the same assaults were made against the Gallican Church and its principles. The French clergy were aroused and alarmed. The great majority of the French Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops issued a declaration condemning them in most explicit terms.

After lamenting the spread of impious and infidel doctrines the declaration proceeds in the following terms:—

“Why must the success which they (the clergy) had a right to expect be compromised by attacks of a different nature, it is true, but which could entail new dangers for the State religion? Maxims sanctioned by the Church of France are loudly denounced as outrages against the divine constitution of the Catholic Church, as a work profaned by schism and heresy, as a profession of political atheism.

“But what astounds and afflicts us most is the rashness with which an attempt is made to revive an opinion born in olden times, from the midst of the anarchy and confusion in which Europe was placed, which has been constantly repelled by the French clergy, and which had fallen into universal oblivion, by which the Sovereign authority was held subject to the spiritual power, *to the extent of liberating their subjects of the oath of allegiance.*

"In consequence we Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops undersigned declare we owe to France, to the Divine Ministry, which has been confided to us, and to the true interests of Religion in the divers Christian communities--to declare that we repudiate the qualifications which have been used to blast and disgrace the maxims and memory of our predecessors in the Episcopate, that we inviolably adhere to the doctrines which they have transmitted on the right of Sovereigns and their full and absolute independence in the temporal order from any direct or indirect ecclesiastical power."

Notwithstanding these protestations the ultramontane school continued their work. The Jesuits secured preponderance, and persisted in their war against liberal ideas. In France, they attained their culminating power under Pius IX. with Veuillot as their mouthpiece.

In self-defence and to save France from absolutism and ecclesiastical domination, the Jesuits were expelled once more. The measure was perhaps too general and unjust, comprising almost every religious and charitable order, but no impartial reader of history can deny that if they had been allowed to continue their course, all free republican or constitutional institutions were doomed.

Montalembert, Mgr. Dupanloup, and all the most enlightened and liberal Catholics of France were denounced as worse than infidels. Veuillot, the most violent, coarse and fanatical writer of modern times, who denounced and attacked all scientific progress, was upheld as the true exponent of Christian ideas.

In order to secure the diffusion of their ideas beyond the sphere of their own pupils, and to reach the community at large, the Jesuits created a so-called debating society, or association, to enlist all young men of true Catholic principles which was called *L'Union Catholique*. Every young man who could read, or write, was asked and urged to join this society, and the Jesuits were found, for months and years, entering professional offices or mercantile houses to solicit members for this society. It naturally increased to large proportions. When incorporated, every one became an active worker in the interests of the society and obedient to the Jesuits' direction. The society was presided over by a Jesuit who was always present at every sitting. No discussion was allowed except on subjects previously submitted. The arguments on the questionable side had to be communicated and examined, so that the orthodox side was triumphant always. A newspaper was founded to further their views, the *Nouveau Monde*. As the organ of this society and of

the Jesuits, it waged an incessant and terrific warfare against everything having the name of Liberal or Gallican. It was soon after the inception of this combination that the *Institut Canadien* was excommunicated. The Guibord case completed the destruction of the best library and most useful French Literary Institution in the city.

The members, composed almost exclusively of French Canadians, were threatened with excommunication, and ostracized. Families shunned them, and they were at last obliged to yield and apparently submit to this tyrannical despotism.

The same course was followed by the clergy throughout the community at large. Every parish priest became subservient, and most of them enthusiastically accepted the programme. Every professional man had to yield, and was enlisted in the ranks of this new party under penalty of losing subsistence. Violent sermons were delivered against liberal ideas everywhere until the people were brought up to the idea that religion and liberal political principles were irreconcilable.

The Jesuits with all this influence offered their assistance to the political powers of the day. It was gladly accepted on their own terms. Besides threats they offered allurements, which were almost irresistible to a young man, however independent he might be. Any one, however incompetent otherwise, who yielded submissively to their influence and consented to become their servant, was extolled and pronounced a born legislator. With the influence the society wielded over the whole community they found constituencies prepared to accept their nominees, every curé becoming a canvasser in the pulpit and in the confessional. The order exercised an almost unlimited control over families. Whenever there was a rich heiress to be found they had a proper subject to offer from their pupils to secure the happiness of each. Thus they secured the everlasting support and gratitude of the happy couple, and a guarantee of further and more effective support. The object of the *exposé* made by the writer of the pamphlet, "La Source du Mal," was to secure the unanimous and servile vote of the representatives of the Province of Quebec, in furtherance of Jesuit designs, and it was easily conceivable that with *sixty-five members voting as a unit in the Commons of Canada, any political man of common intellect could control the destinies and legislature of the Dominion of Canada.*

When Sir George Cartier thought it was time for him to resist this dictatorial power, and opposed the wishes of Bishop Bourget about the dismemberment of the parish of Montreal, this

system received a severe check. The Jesuits sincerely believed that they could annihilate him and substitute another more pliant tool.

If we consider the influence of the Jesuits on the elementary education of the people of the country, we find the same disastrous results. Until their arrival in this country we had free schools and colleges, which were comparatively liberal in their doctrines. as the writer of the pamphlet so bitterly complains of. Our parishes were under the supervision of an entirely national clergy, who participated in the feelings of the people and who were anxious to secure for their people the advantages of a good substantial education. The parish priests were thorough gentlemen, having substantial means of living, and were generally independent and had no fear of expressing their opinion to their bishop.

This was a serious difficulty to overcome ; but Bishop Bourget, inspired by the Jesuits, suggested a very elementary system. The parishes were sub-divided. Any priest offering the slightest sign of independence was instantly removed and deprived of his living ; each subdivision of parishes impoverished the curate, who depended upon its revenues for his living. The curate in consequence became entirely subservient to the will of the bishop. The parishioners, the *habitants*, were called upon to erect new churches at enormous cost, for which the clergy had a right to levy direct taxation upon the real estate of the parish. The plans had to be submitted to the bishop, and extravagant structures were imposed upon the poorest class of the community.

When the dismembered portions of the old parishes erected such costly churches, the churches remaining in the older portions of the parish were immediately condemned by the clerical authorities as insufficient and unsuitable. Although it remained nominally with the majority of the parishioners or land owners to decide upon the propriety of erecting a new church, the moment the priest declared that it was necessary to erect a new one, upon a representation to that effect by the bishop, they were enjoined to decide upon a new construction. If they refused to do so, as in many instances they did, the result was immediate excommunication of the whole parish, whereby no christening, no marriage, no burial, could be effected with the rites of the church. Everyone can understand that in a community like ours, threats of this

description carried out, secure immediate compliance with the orders of the hierarchy. Children and women, will weep until their fathers and husbands yield obedience.

Under our laws any bishop or priest exercising such power would be amenable to the tribunals, and enjoined to desist from such a course. But these laws were pronounced Gallican, heretical, and violating the rights, privileges and immunities of the church, hence the supreme efforts made by them in the Guibord case, and their rage when defeated in the Privy Council. But to prove their power, they commanded the Legislature of Quebec to pass an act, which enacts that the *cure* in every parish shall absolutely and exclusively decide if any party is entitled to christian burial within the cemeteries, and this act was unanimously adopted and sanctioned by a crushed and terrorised legislature.

We now see the country covered with churches of magnificent architectural proportions, which indicate immense wealth on the part of those who contributed to their erection, but which, unfortunately, only prove our poverty and want of independence. Thousands of our brave compatriots have taken up their abode in the neighboring republic, to escape exorbitant taxation for this extravagance.

In painful contrast to these magnificent structures is the village school; a miserable wooden shanty, bare, cold and cheerless; badly ventilated; completely devoid of all comforts and conveniences; presided over by a young girl of 17 or 18, drawing a miserable pittance of \$70 per annum; boarding herself. Is it a wonder that the pupils, for the most part, are withdrawn as soon as they have been prepared for their first communion at the age of ten or twelve years. Of reading, writing and arithmetic they know nothing. Is it surprising that our English-speaking compatriots are more advanced than we are.

These are some of the results of Jesuit influence in the Province of Quebec.

The excuse may be urged, that they found the soil favorable. They seek to bring our population back to the ignorance of mediæval times, keeping them in blissful ignorance of the progress of the 19th century, substituting for modern science the study of Gury, and the sainted Liguori.

Without despotic ecclesiastical power, and a combination with the political parties, their teachings and doctrines would be harmless with an enlightened population; but with a majority,

wanting the elements of primary education, they are able to consolidate the vote as a unit and to sell it to the highest political bidder.

Their policy has succeeded to a certain extent in the Province of Quebec, thanks to the venality of our political leaders, who place party before country, and personal aggrandizement to the public welfare.

But a reaction will take place. They can never again succeed on the Continent of America in establishing a second Paraguay. And it is a wild delusion on their part to persist in an attempt to apply their doctrines to Canada. Up to this time, the result has been dissensions, bitterness, strife and desolation.

It was astounding to see that in the Parliament of Quebec not a voice was raised to protest against the incorporation of this society. It was evident that the most of the ultra-conservatives or ultramontane representatives, Mr. DeBoucherville and Consorts, hesitated, although conscious-stricken, to yield to the Jesuits demand for indemnity, and it is passing strange to see that it was a so-called Liberal Government which has secured to them both the indemnity and their incorporation. The apparent result is that, after the Jesuits, through all their manœuvres, have attempted to destroy and annihilate every Liberal sentiment, it was through the Liberal party of Quebec they have triumphed; and history will record that after thirty years of struggle with the Jesuits, the Liberal party has secured power for them in the Province of Quebec.

When we consider from a national point of view the result of their victory, it comes to this: The clergy of Quebec City at great sacrifice organized for the province of Quebec an institution of learning,--the Laval University, whose success every patriotic man desired to secure. Because of some expressions of semi-liberalty the Jesuits and the ultramontane party, their adepts raised a cry against Laval; and in order to obtain the sinews of war to destroy this apparent menace to their cherished ideas, they are establishing a rival university in Montreal, which will have the sole effect of weakening both, or to destroy Laval altogether. If unfortunately the Jesuits are successful, they will substitute, as the directing educational power in our Province, a body which has no feeling of nationality whatever, and which acknowledges no authority whatever, civil or ecclesiastical, beyond that of their own General in Rome, who is a foreigner. Having no knowledge of, or sympathy with the feelings of our community, their wants or their aspirations,

it must be obvious that our destinies in Canada—economy, social and political,—must be in accord with the civilization, and political ideas of this continent. The following extracts from *Lo Chiesa é la Stato* del P. Matteo Liberatore, D.C., D.G., Seconda Edizione corretta ed accresciuta, Napoli, 1872, show at a glance the modern policy of the church now completely under Jesuit influence.

"The state must understand itself to be a subordinate sovereignty exercising ministerial functions under a superior sovereignty, *and governing the people, conformably to the will of that Lord to whom it is subject.*" p. 11.

"It is that Sovereign Pontiff 'the visible monarch' of God's realm on earth, 'to whom every baptised person is more strictly subject than to any temporal ruler whatsoever.'" p. 14.

"The temporal sword, symbol of civil authority, has to be subordinate to the spiritual sword, symbol of priestly authority." p. 23.

"The church is empowered to *amend and to cancel* the civil laws, or the sentences proceeding from a secular court. Whenever these may be in collision with spiritual weal, and she has the faculty to check the abuse of the executive and of the armed forces, *or even to prescribe their employment* whenever the requirements for the protection of the christian faith may demand this, the jurisdiction of the church is higher than the civil, &c." p. 46.

"The primary condition of an efficacious alliance between the laws of the state, and the laws of the church lies in the application of *coercive means*, in every instance where spiritual penalty may be inadequate." p. 78.

"The capital and substantial ground, wherefore *liberty of conscience must be reprobated*, is neither peace nor national unity, but in truth the obligation to profess the true faith, and thereby insure the attainment of man's superior good. Peace and national unity may be invoked as a secondary ground (being likewise a benefit), but only on the supposition that *the true faith is preserved. For in the contrary case the saying of Christ holds good, I came not to send peace but a sword*; national discord being beyond comparison a lesser evil than persistence in some error regarding a point of faith." p. 77.

Father Liberatore is one of the ablest writers of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the authorized organ of the church, by the brief ad hoc of Pius IX, who gave the sole control of its columns to the Society of Jesus.

The secret history of the incorporation and endowment of the Society of Jesus in Quebec is curious, and affords the proof of their constant intrigues.

The writer of the pamphlet "La Source du Mal," admits that the Jesuits have been attempting to recover their property for many years. They found at last a true Conservative Minister in the Honorable Mr. DeBoucherville, with whom it was settled that they were to receive \$400,000 in lieu of their property. He was raised to power by their influence, but he could not carry out his pledge. He was replaced by others, and they also were afraid. Finding the Conservatives hesitating and timid, although willing, Mr. Mercier, one of their pupils, undertook to execute their scheme for the sake of power, for which alone he was anxious. It seemed difficult, but the obstacles were easily and magically overcome. Mr. Mercier, who entered politics as a violent Conservative, despairing of gratifying his ambition by this course, suddenly became a Liberal. His talents and energy secured him the leadership of the party. With only thirteen followers, his prospect of success was problematic. So eager was he for office that he openly offered an alliance to Mr. Chapleau, then at war with the ultramontane faction, the Castors. The Liberals protested against this combination, and the Conservatives, foreseeing no favorable results, declined the offer. After this Mr. Mercier conceived the idea of another combination. The bond was made with the Jesuits, he promised to secure their desired object. He apparently claimed to be the leader of the Liberal party, and was declared at a meeting in the hall of the Jesuits "the man of Providence." He now studiously avoided the term of Liberal for himself and for the party which he was leading. He found ready-made followers in the ultramontane or the castor faction, who publicly disclaimed any taint of Liberal ideas, and who were promised complete sway. Then Mr. Mercier announced the formation of the national party in which the last vestiges of liberalism disappeared. He continued his work, and to secure popular opinion he took advantage of the Riel cry, as all know. He fulfilled his obligation. The Jesuits were incorporated. The endowment was obtained. Most reactionary measures were carried. Everything the ultramontane clergy claimed was granted. His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau was publicly snubbed. Not a single measure of reform promised was effected or even attempted. The ultramontanes were dominant and satisfied. "The man of Providence" enjoyed the

sweets of office and with the menace of seeing the so-called Conservatives restored to power, he secured the silence and submission of the Liberals who assisted at their own funeral.

In the words of a recent writer on the Jesuit question: "Silently but ruthlessly that stealthy organization, which calls itself the Society of Jesus—in grim pursuit of what it also calls the Greater Glory of God—has laid siege to, broken into, and razed these glorious and venerable sanctuaries in Italy, in Germany, and above all in France, whence, during generations, there had beamed forth across the wide plain of the Catholic world, with the calmly luminous glow of purified light, the mellow gleam of a religious sentiment, which did not divorce the fervor of Catholic piety from candid learning and heart-felt attachment to liberties, any more than it considered essential for the triumph of the faith to propagate a belief in coarse superstitions, and to fortify the church by a network of trickeries."

All that remains to restore the old order of things is for the Liberal party to separate from its present leadership, and reconstitute the party on the basis of the original platform—so nobly fought for by the Papineaus and Dorions of old—true Canadians and true Liberals.

The conclusions of the author of the pamphlet have, in this year of 1889, been fully realized. The Jesuit Fathers were incorporated in 1888, and \$400,000 has been awarded to them out of the Provincial Treasury, to which they were not legally entitled. Thus the union of church and state is recognized. The authority of the Pope to interfere in and regulate our Provincial affairs has been officially recognized on our statute book. The Roman Catholic Schools are now completely under clerical control. The mild Christian rule of the good Sulpicians has been superseded by that of the Jesuit Fathers. The noble and princely revenues of the Seigniories of Montreal and Two Mountains, left in trust to the Sulpicians by the kings of France, as an endowment for the supports of schools and church for the benefit of the Roman Catholics of the Island of Montreal and the Seigniorie of Two Mountains, are now diverted from their original destination. Roman Catholic real estate, formerly exempt from school taxes and the cost of public worship, is now taxed for these purposes. The revenues of these seigniories is now finding their way to Rome to erect a stately college, and doubtless to benefit other foreign countries.

The rule of the Sulpicians was a mild, beneficent, and christian administration. The Gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpice were, and still are, respected by our Protestant brethren and loved by the Roman Catholics for their broad charity and uniform christian spirit. Formerly, when the Seminary of St. Sulpice took charge of public worship and education, the Grey Nuns of orphans, and helpless old people, the sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, the Hotel Dieu Hospital, and the instruction of young children, every thing went on peacefully enough. The clergy devoted themselves to the spiritual care of their flocks and eschewed politics. With the advent of the Jesuits came the ultramontane doctrine, that the church dominates the state. The country is swarming with new religious orders. In 1868 the item of charities, assisted from the provincial revenue, numbered twenty-nine institutions. The public accounts of 1888 contain over one hundred. Public money is taken to build and support convent and religious schools all over the country. A large number of these communities are simply commercial corporations carrying on the patent medicine business, printing, public laundries, shirt and collar manufactories, carriage, harness, and boot and shoe factories. The majority of the conventual educational institutions are carried on for profit. And all with marked success, as is evidenced by the everincreasing size and number.

The competition of these institutions paying no taxation or wages has the effect of lowering the standard of wages amongst the laboring classes with whom they compete directly. Exempt from taxation, these institutions are multiplying with great rapidity.

In portions of the City of Quebec, the real estate in private ownership has depreciated so much as to be unprofitable to hold. And the oldest city of the Dominion is fast losing its population and commerce. If no change of policy is adopted, it is only a question of time when Montreal will be sorely embarrassed by the uneven load of taxation consequent upon this policy of exemptions. The value of Real Estate in Montreal in 1887 was \$78,533,386, and the exemptions \$17,921,665.

It is a recognized fact that no Government can hold office in Quebec without the support of the clergy; and Provincial Legislation is subject always to ecclesiastical approval. We have seen, during the last session of the Legislature at Quebec, the Ministry of the day, submitting a bill on vital statistics, for confirmation and approval, by the Bishops, and their want of confi-

dence in the politicians was shewn by their initialing the various sections of the bill to prevent its being altered or amended in the Legislature.

Provincial politics have degenerated into an unseemly scramble for the support of the clergy in elections; scandals in the Government administration abound; one administration succeeds another, each more corrupt than its predecessor. The growing generation of politicians is being trained up as opportunists, and political power is sought after for the pecuniary advantages to be derived therefrom. Good government, and the economical administration of the public revenue, are subordinate to the duty of subsidizing and enriching party friends out of the public purse. If one Government takes ten thousand dollars from a Government contractor for electoral corruption, the succeeding Government takes twenty thousand in the same way. The scandal being discovered, the only regret expressed for this plundering of the poor tax-payers is that the scandal became public.

A great excitement exists on account of the sum of \$400,000 being awarded to the Jesuits, on account of a pretended claim of over eighty years standing. The Government of the day, composed of Ultramontanes and Liberals, while denying the legality of the claim, paid it out of regard to the moral obligation involved.

A stranger to our politics might be deceived by this laudable plea, into supposing that lofty dictates of honor guide the party in power in their decision. No such thing! The sum thus taken from the public treasury was nominally devoted to the payment of a so-called equitable claim for restitution. In reality it was to secure the support of the hierarchy to the party in power at the next election. This is clearly shewn by the division of the spoils; only \$160,000 of this sum is to be given to the Jesuits, the balance to the Bishops of the Province.

Ecclesiastical interference in the politics of the Province of Quebec has produced disastrous results. It has completely destroyed all independence of character in the politicians, and it has lowered the standard of our representatives. The church supports the party which will give the largest grants to its religious and educational institutions. The politician may despoil the public treasury to his heart's content. The pulpit is silent. But if the public representative proposes to modernise, or improve our system of elementary education, or to develop the

intelligence of his countrymen by trying to bring them up to the standard of the 19th century progress, he will be denounced as impious and heretical. There is no longer any independence of thought or action amongst our so-called statesmen, we are simply transforming our public men into trimmers, opportunists and hypocrites. The boodler was unknown under the regime of the Papineaus and the Cartiers. It is a modern creation. The church has suffered by contact with the politicians. Its attempt to dominate the state, and direct our Legislators, has resulted in a marked deterioration in the morals of our public men.

Is it not time for the church to abandon its dream of temporal rule, and return to its proper sphere of spiritual teaching, and the promotion of public morality?

One word, in conclusion, to our English speaking compatriots. For years a noble band of our French-speaking brothers fought for progress and the advancement of their countrymen. They were denounced, persecuted, and ostracized by their clergy. During all this time the English-speaking vote was for the most part cast against this band of heroes and reformers, and the present state of public affairs in the Province of Quebec is the result.

The grand old Liberal party, composed of as good Catholics as any, who asked only the separation of state and church, and the liberty to educate and promote the material interests of their countrymen, were entitled to the support of all good and thoughtful men.

In their struggle they hoped for and expected the support of their English-speaking fellow countrymen. They did not receive it. May we not hope that the lesson will not be lost, and that so soon as the old Liberal flag is raised again by true patriots, all true Canadians will rally more strongly to its support,

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